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The Ninth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States was held at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, on May 7-8. The weather was good, so that it was possible to enjoy to the utmost the beautiful Campus of the College. Every preparation had been made by the authorities of the College for the comfort of the members and visitors; throughout the meeting these plans were carried out perfectly. The students of the College, many of them, men and women both, generously surrendered their rooms for the use of those members and visitors who spent Friday night at Swarthmore. The annual dinner, at which 106 were present, was held in the smaller dining room of the College, and proved a thoroughly delightful occasion. Many members and visitors enjoyed breakfast at the College dining-room on Saturday morning, and more (114) were there at luncheon. One hundred and thirty persons registered as in attendance at the meeting, but others who were present did not register. On Friday evening, after the dinner and the paper which followed it, there was an informal reception by President and Mrs. Swain in the College Library, whose reading room proved well adapted to the purpose. On every side on Saturday one heard expressions of satisfaction with the meeting. No idle words were the resolutions of thanks passed by the Association (see below).

Those who were present at this meeting felt that, from the point of view of the members, the ideal place for the annual meetings is a College like Haverford or Swarthmore, where the members and visitors can live together, as it were, for a day or two, in surroundings at once academic and charming in the loveliness of their physical setting.

The programme was as follows:

Friday afternoon, May 7, at 2.30: Address of Welcome, by Dr. Joseph Swain, President of Swarthmore College; Response, by Dr. W. F. Little, President of the Association; Paper, Latin and Football, by Professor F. O. Ryder, of Western Maryland College; Paper (illustrated), Sparta, Ancient and Modern, by Professor George E. Howes, of Williams College, Delegate from The Classical Association of New England; Report of the Secretary-Treasurer; Report of the Executive Committee; Appointment of Committees; Paper, The Lucretian Theory of Providence, by Professor George D. Hadzsits, of the University of Pennsylvania; Paper, Reactions to the Latin Stimulus, by Miss Mary B. Rockwood, Western High School, Baltimore; Paper, The Socialization of the Classics,

by Dr. Mason D. Gray, of the East High School, Rochester, New York.

Friday evening, Annual Dinner, at 7. After the dinner, Paper, A Point in the Interpretation of the Antigone of Sophocles, by Professor Charles Knapp, of Barnard College, Columbia University.

Saturday morning, May 8, at 9.15. Rendition of a new musical setting of Horace, Carmina 1.8, written by Mr. Russell H. Miles, who was graduated from the Central High School, Philadelphia, in February last. The music was played by Mr. Miles, and sung by Miss Mariè Loughney, of Philadelphia; Paper, Latin in its Rightful Place, by Miss Annie Gendell, of the William Penn High School, Philadelphia; Paper, The Interest of Late and Medieval Latin to the High School Teacher, by Professor Charles Upson Clark, Delegate from Yale University; Paper, By-Paths in Caesarean Bibliography, by Professor Frederic Stanley Dunn, of the University of Oregon (read by Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, of the University of Pennsylvania); Paper, Caesar as Seen in his Works, by Professor Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Saturday afternoon, at 2. Papers (illustrated) on (a) The Olcott Collection, Columbia University, and on the Models at Hunter College, by Miss Helen Tanzer, Hunter College; (b) The Johns Hopkins Classical Museum, by Professor R. V. D. Magoffin, of The Johns Hopkins University; (c) The University of Pennsylvania Museum, by Miss Edith Hall, Assistant Curator of the Mediterranean Section of the Museum; (d) The Metropolitan Museum, New York City, by Miss G. M. A. Richter, Assistant Curator of the Classical Department of the Museum; The Saalburg Collection at Washington University, St. Louis, by Professor Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University.

The papers proved interesting and profitable, and, within the limits of time available for discussion, called forth a lively interchange of views.

The Executive Committee reported that the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer had been audited, prior to the meeting, by Messrs. Roscoe Guernsey and William S. Messer, of Columbia University, and that they had been found in all respects correct. The Committee, further, had gone in much detail over the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, and had approved it. For the Committee two motions were presented and unanimously passed. By the first it was ordered that rebate shall be paid hereafter to local Classical Associations (50 cents per member) only on such persons as pay their dues both to the local Classical Association and to The Classical Association of the Atlantic States on or before November 30 of each year. By the other motion the amount appropriated for clerical

assistance, in connection with the increasing business of the Association and of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, was made \$500 per year.

The following is an abstract of the report of the Secretary-Treasurer:

The balance on hand in the treasury of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, April 11, 1914, was \$525.69: collected, during the year, for back dues, \$34.00, for current dues, \$1,084.20, for dues for 1915-1916, \$292.30, for interest, \$26.10, for annual dinner and luncheon, 1914, \$138.50, for advertising, from *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* (that is, for contribution to expense of circulars meant to secure members, from which *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* derives profit), \$15.00, from sale of the two pamphlets (the *Practical Value of Latin* and the Reprint of Professor Cooper's paper), \$22.50, for cost of printing circulars sent out in behalf of Art and Archaeology (paid for by The Archaeological Institute of America), \$6.00: total in the funds, \$2144.29. The expenditures included these items: annual dinner, 1914, \$137.00, miscellaneous expenses, annual meeting, 1914, \$9.65, annual meeting, 1915 (printing, and distribution of programmes), \$53.37, miscellaneous printing and stationery, \$57.70, supplies of all kinds (dictaphone, records for dictaphone, typewriter, etc.), \$74.88, for rebates to local classical associations (1913-1914 account, \$16.00, 1914-1915 account, \$88.00), \$104.00, travelling expenses, \$56.40, telephone and telegraph service, exchange and expressage, \$5.46, bills from Vice-Presidents, postage, 1913-1914, \$8.80, half cost of circulars in joint interests of New York Latin Club and the C. A. A. S., \$10.86, clerical assistance, \$253.25 (partly on 1913-1914 account, too), postage (miscellaneous items, from day to day, \$28.57, special items (sending out bills, or circulars in the interest of the Association, \$62.13), \$90.70, transferred to *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, subscriptions for members, \$704.00, special publication expenses (two pamphlets, *The Practical Value of Latin*, and Professor Cooper's paper, printing, circulars to advertise the pamphlets, freight on the pamphlets from Geneva, N. Y., and postage on copies to all members), \$212.65, miscellaneous, \$4.00; total, \$1782.72. Balance, May 1, 1915, \$361.55. The decrease in the balance from April 11, 1914, is more than accounted for by the special expenses connected with the publication of the two pamphlets.

On April 11, 1914, the balance in the treasury of *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* was \$862.34. The receipts were: from the C. A. A. S., for members' subscriptions to *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*, \$704.00, for subscriptions, \$738.30, from miscellaneous sources (including advertising), \$815.77: total, \$3120.41. The expenditures of every sort were \$2153.01. Balance, May 1, 1915, \$967.40.

During the year the sum of \$250.54 was sent to The University of Chicago Press for subscriptions to *The Classical Journal* and *Classical Philology*. The figures on this account for the last three years are \$243.88, 238.88, 250.54, covering subscriptions as follows: *The Classical Journal*, 128, 132, 147, *Classical Philology*, 70, 64, 62.

The total membership on April 30 was 704: reported a year ago, 683. The membership as reported at the last four annual meetings has been as follows: 497, 575, 683, 704. The number of subscribers on April 30 was 715. The figures here for the last four years are 430, 558, 630, 715. The total number of paid subscriptions to *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* (members plus subscribers) has been 933, 1133, 1313, 1419.

The following resolutions, offered by the Committee on Resolutions, David M. Robinson and H. L. Crosby, were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that The Classical Association of the Atlantic States desires to express its grateful appreciation of the most cordial hospitality with which it has been received at Swarthmore College, and in particular to thank President Swain and the Board of Managers for the use of Parrish Hall, of the Dormitories and of the Dining Room, President and Mrs. Swain again for the delightful reception in the Library, and for their hospitable entertainment on that occasion. The Association desires especially to express its sincere gratitude to Professor Walter Dennison and to the young ladies and men who assisted him, for the completeness of the arrangements made by them to secure the comfort and convenience of members and visitors, to the men and women students who so kindly vacated their rooms in the dormitories, to the readers of the papers and to Miss Loughren and to Mr. Miles, for the beautiful rendition of the 8th Ode of the first book of Horace, and to the Secretary-Treasurer, who has continued his efficient service during the past year and has arranged such a profitable and enjoyable program.

The following officers were elected (the Nominating Committee consisted of B. W. Mitchell, Mabel C. Hawes, and Floyd P. Johnson): President, Walter Dennison, Swarthmore College; Secretary-Treasurer, Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University; Vice-Presidents, H. H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Charles H. Breed, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J., Miss M. K. McNiff, Harrisburgh, Penn., Evan T. Sage, University of Pittsburgh, Margaret Garrett, Eastern High School, Baltimore, Charles S. Smith, George Washington University, D. of C., Elisha Conover, Delaware College, Newark, Delaware.

An invitation was received from the Washington Classical Club to meet in the District of Columbia next year. The invitation was referred to the Executive Committee, with power.

It is worth while to note, as early as this, that the annual meeting of 1916 will be the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Association. We should lay our plans early for a meeting as impressive as possible.

C. K.

BOOK REVIEWS

Demosthenes and the Last Days of Greek Freedom. 384-322 B. C. By A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons (1914). Heroes of the Nations Series. Pp. xxiii+512. \$1.50.

It is now twenty-eight years since the revised edition of Arnold Schaefer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* was published. Butcher's little volume, *Demosthenes*, in the *Classical Writers Series*, was printed three years after Schaefer's great work. The histories of Meyer and Busolt have not yet reached the period of Demosthenes. Beloch has covered the whole period (Band II, 1897), but in very condensed form. Meanwhile, considerable additions have been made to our knowledge of the period through archaeology and by the studies called out by the discovery of the *Didymus Commentary* (published in 1904). Moreover, German scholars, and their English and American followers to some extent, have been inclined to abandon the traditional attitude

toward the Athenian struggle against Macedon, and to see in Isocrates, not Demosthenes, the real statesman of the time. It is perhaps not altogether fanciful to regard this changed attitude as in part resulting from the marvelous success of the New Germany, freed from the particularism of the old states, and united under the militarism and imperialism of the Prussian monarchy. Whatever the cause of the new attitude, it comes more and more insistently as a challenge to those who, following Grote and Schaefer, look upon Demosthenes as the champion of a wise and glorious struggle for national independence. It is certainly time for a new 'life' of Demosthenes to embody the results of scattered detailed studies, and to take account of the modern attitude toward his policies. We have two works of the first quality from the Macedonian standpoint, Hogarth's *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (1897) and Wheeler's *Alexander the Great* (1900). From the Athenian standpoint Professor Pickard-Cambridge now gives us his *Demosthenes*, a volume of sufficient size to permit a much more detailed treatment than Butcher could give in his little book, yet making no pretense to the exhaustive treatment of Schaefer's work. The author had already done useful service in his excellent translations of the *Public Orations of Demosthenes* (2 volumes, Oxford, 1912). His new work shows a competent grasp of the sources, and familiarity with the recent special studies bearing on the period. In Phocian matters only he seems not to have made as much use as he might have done of archaeological material; the work at Delphi has given some new information.

Professor Pickard-Cambridge writes from the original sources, he shows excellent judgment in his estimate of recent theories (he is not at all carried away by the current Isocrates cult), and he has most diligently collected and combined the scattered material of a period where we have no contemporary historian, and where we must make large use of the contradictory statements of rival politicians, neither of whom could establish a character for truth and veracity in any court that knew them. In notes at the end of the chapters the author discusses in detail some of the more difficult questions and gives the needed references. A long chapter (41-70) gives a summary of Greek history from 404 to 359 B. C., and the next chapter, 37 pages, describes political institutions and the practical politics of the Athenian State of the fourth century. There is an excellent colored map of Greece, which secures clearness by marking for the most part only the localities that are mentioned in the text, and a clear sketch-map of the localities of the Chaeronea campaign, as well as a chart of the battle of Chaeronea, based on the new studies of Kromayer. The author has prepared a very full chronological table, embodying the results of the latest research; it will properly supersede Schaefer's table so far as it covers the same events. The text is illustrated with more than a score of excellent plates. The most valuable among these are the photograph of the Vati-

can statue of Demosthenes (with the clasped hands recently discovered, in place of the modern hands with the roll), and the photograph of the Lion of Chaeronea. A good many of the plates have no very close connection with the text, and one could wish that the author had given us some that are less accessible rather than these stock photographs. We need more of the landscapes; we should welcome some views of the Macedonian country, and of those regions of the Chalcidic peninsula and Thrace that figure so largely in the narrative. The views of Delphi are always interesting, but for this book the one necessary view, the plain and harbor as seen from the heights, is lacking. A photograph of the priceless inscription that records the constitution of the Second Athenian Confederacy, with a translation of it, might well take the place of the view of the temple of Hera at Olympia, which is supposed to illustrate the "success of his <Philip's> force in the Olympian games" (we may guess that we owe "force" to a careless proof reader; 'horse' would be a safe emendation).

The first thing to say of the book as a whole is that it is sound and reliable. The author has done an immense amount of patient critical work in gathering and sifting his material, and weighing the often conflicting judgments that scholars have passed upon it. It is a book to be trusted in general in its statement of facts. The author is at his best in following out the successive steps in a complicated series; he likes to give all the details, to name all the actors and the places. This makes his book excellent for reference, but less attractive to the general reader. The picture of any one part of the author's field lacks perspective; the great events are sometimes obscured by the multiplicity of the little ones. The author is not keen in discerning the need of the reader for interpretation of situations and events; he does sometimes give the large view of a situation and point out the significance of a movement, but such interpretation is infrequent. This defect is particularly unfortunate in the description of the career of a man like Philip, whose activities passed so rapidly from one locality to another, but always with such far-seeing judgment. The reader finds here no such interpretation as that which makes Hogarth's Philip such a fascinating character. There is a lack, too, of the geographical interpretation that is needed at every step to make clear the strategy of Philip's steady advance. As we read Hogarth we see each movement as caused and conditioned by the physical environment of Philip's home-land; and we see for what reasons and to what degree the conflict with Athens was inevitable, if Philip was to realize a legitimate ambition for a place for Macedon 'in the sun'. In Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's narrative these aspects are not ignored, but they do not receive the constant attention that they ought to have.

Three fundamental questions confront the modern student of the activity of Demosthenes as a statesman. First, was the struggle against Philip a hopeless one?

Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, although he gives a most discouraging picture of the Athens of Demosthenes's time, holds that Athens and her allies did come near enough to success to justify the struggle. He accepts, too, Demosthenes's own proud confession of faith in liberty, his *παράδοξόν τι*, and by quoting that great passage of the Crown Speech (*εἰ γὰρ ἡν ἅπασιν πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι . . . οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἡ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον*) he gives to his reader the fundamental defense of Demosthenes's aims from the Athenian standpoint. But the modern critics of Demosthenes raise a more serious question: Was it not for the interest of the Greek states as a whole to be forced to relinquish their endless wars with one another and be united under a strong central power?—the argument of the admirer of united, Prussianized Germany. This question is not clearly faced in this volume; and yet it is fundamental. To answer it the author would have been compelled to sketch the history of the Greek states in the generation after Alexander. No one can intelligently estimate the Hellenic bearing of Demosthenes's policies until he has followed out the tale of misery of those later years, when Greece found neither union nor peace nor honor in the midst of the warring claimants to the Macedonian throne. The reader of Ferguson's Hellenistic Athens will endorse Swoboda's statement of the final impression that that great book leaves with the student:

Der allgemeine Eindruck den es hinterlässt stimmt allerdings zu der bisherigen Auffassung, nach welcher der Schwerpunkt in der Entwicklung des Hellenismus nicht auf den einzelnen Gemeinden beruhte, mögen sie noch bedeutend gewesen sein wie Athen sondern auf den Persönlichkeiten der Herrscher.

A 'life' of Demosthenes should include not only a sketch of the events of the generation that preceded him, out of which his activities grew, but also an equally clear sketch of the fate of the generation that followed him, experiencing the natural fruits of the supremacy of the Macedonian war-lords. In no other way will the reader be able to appreciate the unsoundness of much of the modern criticism of Demosthenes's policies. The new 'life', closing as it does with the death of Demosthenes, affords no understanding of this important phase of the study. And we cannot say either that a biographer of Demosthenes has surveyed the whole field who has not fairly met the third question of modern critics: Was not the struggle for the continued independence of the Hellenic states really a struggle against the grand march of civilization that was to open a new world to Greek culture, and give supremacy to the Greek genius? An author who finds a place for Ebyzelmis and Cotys and Berisades and Amadocus of Thrace should find room for at least the stating of a question like this.

There is another surprising gap in this new life of Demosthenes: there is in it no adequate account of Demosthenes the orator. It is the statesman that

interests Mr. Pickard-Cambridge. He gives considerable attention to the argument of the successive speeches and considerable quotations from them (he assumes also that his two volumes of translation will be in the hands of his readers); he incidentally gives some idea of the oratorical character of one speech and another, but there is no chapter devoted to a summing up of the characteristics of Demosthenes's oratory, no detailed illustration of the composition of his great periods, of the range of his invention in argument, and his protean variety of expression, no adequate account of the marvelous laws of his composition. Some attention is given to this phase of his work in the chapter on the Youth and Training of Demosthenes, but in the concluding chapter of the book, where we should expect the detailed treatment, a foot-note refers us to "a brief appreciation of the character of Demosthenes as an orator" in the author's introduction to his translation of the public speeches—a scant five pages of most general statements, not to be compared with Butcher's summary.

In the brilliant essay, *Clio*, a Muse, which gives the title to the recent volume of George Trevelyan's essays, we have this clear-cut statement of the requirements for a piece of historical writing (30 ff.):

... there are three distinct functions of history that we may call the *scientific*, the *imaginative* or *speculative*, and the *literary*. First comes what we may call the *scientific*, if we confine the word to this narrow but vital function, the day-labour that every historian must well and truly perform if he is to be a serious member of his profession—the accumulation of facts and the sifting of evidence. . . . Then comes the *imaginative* or *speculative*, when he plays with the facts that he has gathered, selects and classifies them, and makes his guesses and generalizations. And last but not least comes the *literary* function, the exposition of the results of science and imagination in a form that will attract and educate our fellow-countrymen.

Applying Trevelyan's tests to the book under review, we may say unhesitatingly that the work is scientific; the evidence is well collected and sifted. On the imaginative and speculative side also the work is well done, though it would greatly help the reader to be allowed more fully to share the author's mental processes in his interpretation of facts. But it must be said that the literary function has been neglected. It is not in general an attractive narrative: overburdened with details, often lacking in interpretation of events, almost wholly lacking in vivid or picturesque presentation of the striking scenes in which it moves, and sometimes even careless in expression, it makes little appeal as a piece of literature. The author does not fulfil the promise of the advertising page at the back of the volume, in which we are told that in the *Heroes of the Nations Series* the narrative "will present picturesque and dramatic stories of the men and of the events connected with them". This narrative is reliable, but it is neither picturesque nor dramatic. It is not, therefore, a work to be given as

a whole to the general reader or the young student. For such a reader Hogarth's Philip and Butcher's little book are still the best introduction to the life of Demosthenes. This book is for the mature and serious student, and for him it will be of very great value.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

CHARLES D. ADAMS.

The Origin of Attic Comedy. By F. M. Cornford. London: Edward Arnold; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. (1914). Pp. xii + 252. \$2.40 net.

The present reviewer is free to confess that he took up this book with a distinct prejudice. Mr. Cornford belongs to a group of English classicists the brilliance of whose scholarship is second only to their intrepidity. Much as Mr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Jane Harrison, Professor William Ridgeway, and the rest may differ in other respects, they agree in seeking light upon classical problems from anthropological lore and in sticking at no exegesis which will contribute to this happy consummation. Then, when I read in the first paragraph of Mr. Cornford's Preface that "the constant features of the Aristophanic play were inherited from a ritual drama" and recalled how disingenuously the same author, in his Thucydides Mythischorus, had resolved the three appearances of Cleon on that historian's pages into "the complete outline of a drama", my misgivings did not lessen. If I add that with further reading my prejudice against Mr. Cornford's volume has vanished, I must not be understood as accepting to any great extent his conclusions. But with the exception of his statement that "it is tempting to see in the two half-choruses of twelve in Attic Comedy, the twelve months of the Old and the New Years" (p. 129, n. 2), Mr. Cornford rides his anthropological hobbyhorse with comparative discretion. In fact this is the only utterly preposterous suggestion that I have noted. Of still greater consequence than the sober application of his viewpoint, however, is the fact that there is a certain factor which differentiates the origin of comedy from most other studies in origins.

This factor is brought out in Aristotle's statement that "comedy originated with the leaders of the phallic ceremonies, *which still survive as institutions in many of our cities*". Mr. Cornford finds the best illustration of these ceremonies in Aristophanes, *Acharn*. 241 ff., and concludes from this and other evidence that the phallic rites had a double object—that they were both a "positive agent of fertilization" and a "negative charm against evil spirits". The former result was obtained by the invocation of friendly powers: as to the latter,

the simplest of all methods of expelling such malign influences of any kind is to abuse them with the most violent language. No distinction is drawn between this and the custom of abusing, and even beating, the persons or things which are to be rid of them There can be no doubt that the element of invective and personal satire which distinguishes the Old Comedy is directly descended from the magical abuse of the

phallic procession, just as its obscenity is due to the sexual magic; and it is likely that this ritual justification was well known to an audience familiar with the phallic ceremony itself.

I believe these quotations to represent sound conclusions. Now, if the phallic ceremonies continued until Aristotle's day and if their connection with comedy had always been recognized, the hypothesis that comedy always harked back to this primitive ritual is not so fantastic as it would otherwise be. In my opinion, our author is correct also in tracing the agon and the parabasis of Old Comedy, as well as its physical violence and horseplay, back to the magical aversion of evil in the phallic rites. I regret to state that, with minor exceptions, this marks the limit of the concessions I can make to Mr. Cornford's views.

Writers on the origin of Attic comedy are fairly well agreed upon one point, that only some features of it are indigenous and that it has been greatly modified by importations from Sicily and the Peloponnesus. But, when they undertake to separate the foreign and the native elements, concord flies out of the window. Yet even this single point of unanimity is unacceptable to Mr. Cornford, who maintains that every part of Old Comedy is Attic and would reduce the Dorian influence to a minimum. He acknowledges adherence to Professor Murray's theory concerning the origin of tragedy and constructs a very similar hypothesis, *mutatis mutandis*, for comedy. Comedy, then, was derived from sympathetic magic, from "the fertility drama of the marriage of the Old Year transformed into the New". Every year a stereotyped series of incidents was repeated. The ritual began with an agon between the good principle and the bad principle (the New Year versus the Old, Summer versus Winter, Life versus Death, etc.), was continued either by the defeat and death of the latter, followed by a sacrifice and feast of thanksgiving; or by the death of the former, who was slain, dismembered, cooked, and eaten in the communal feast, only to be triumphantly resurrected. In either case, the festivities are interrupted by a succession of "unwelcome intruders" consisting of stock characters like the buffoon, the doctor or cook, the soldier, the old man, the old woman, etc. These are just the characters that are required for the fixed plot of the fertility drama. Finally, in the exodus occurs a "sacred marriage" (together with a *comus* song and procession), derived from a sexual union which originally was consummated, or feigned, in order that all the natural powers of fertility might be stimulated to perform their function. The regular series of incidents, as outlined, forms the framework of Aristophanes's eleven plays, however diverse their themes. At first blush this statement must appear absolutely incredible to every reader, but Mr. Cornford displays the most amazing ingenuity in maintaining it.

Tragedy and comedy, he continues, have both come from a ritual drama which was "the same in type and

content, though not necessarily performed at the same time of the year". They differ in that, whereas comedy retains the whole series of canonical incidents, the Aeschylean trilogy stops with the happy ending of the hero's resurrection, the series being concluded by the satyric drama. These conventional features are what Aristotle had in mind when he declared that comedy 'already had certain definite forms when the record of its poets begins'.

All criticism implies the existence of some standard of comparison, in this case the possibility of pointing out, or of establishing for one's self, a more satisfactory hypothesis. The latter alternative I intend to avail myself of in a forthcoming book on the Greek Theater and its Drama; accordingly, there is the less need of indulging in constructive criticism here. Nevertheless, I entertain no false hopes of setting up unassailable results. The evidence at hand is too scanty for that. Mr. Cornford truly remarks (p. 220):

Many literary critics seem to think that an hypothesis about obscure and remote questions of history can be refuted by a simple demand for the production of more evidence than in fact exists. The demand is as easy to make as it is impossible to satisfy. But the true test of an hypothesis, if it cannot be shown to conflict with known truths, is the number of facts that it correlates and explains. The question left for the reader's consideration is whether, after following our argument, he understands better the form and features of this strange phenomenon, Aristophanic Comedy.

The fact is that, if the true development of Greek drama were divinely revealed to some one, he would be unable to formulate a cogent proof for it. Notwithstanding, in spite of these considerations and without deprecating the value of anthropological parallels, it is still possible to comment in all fairness upon certain features of Mr. Cornford's conclusions.

Pages 3-7 deal with some current theories of the origin of comedy. It is unfortunate that Mr. Cornford is apparently unacquainted with the two latest attempts, except his own, to treat the subject. I refer to Professor Capps's paper in *Lectures on Greek Literature* (1912), 124 ff., and Professor Navarre's paper in *Revue des Études anciennes*, 1911, 245 ff. These authorities closely agree in their results and differentiate Attic and Dorian influences most sensibly.

Page 32. For the interpretation of Aristophanes's *Ranae* 790 compare *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 40. 93 ff.

P. 36. For Aristotle's *Poetics* 1449a 37 ff. Mr. Cornford should consult Professor Capps, in the *University of Chicago Decennial Publications*, Volume 6, especially pages 266 ff. Professor Capps made it seem very clear that *πρωῶνα*, prologues, and a plurality of actors were introduced after 487 B. C., not before. Moreover, he has informed me by letter that he believes *πρωῶνα* in this passage to mean not 'masks' but 'characters'. All this has a direct bearing upon Mr. Corn-

ford's argument. Our author is troubled because, though the contents of *epirrhome* and *antepirrhome* in the *parabasis* are "iambic" (i. e. lampooning), the meter is not iambic. But iambic meter was invented by Archilochus, while the magical abuse of the phallic ceremonies must have started centuries before.

Pages 51 and 183. The first actor in comedy, Mr. Cornford argues, was a projection of the vaguely personified genius of the Phallic rites, Phales. But in my opinion this would place the introduction of actors at far too early a date. See the preceding note.

Pages 62 ff. Mr. Cornford makes the North Greece carnivals progenitors of comedy, as Ridgeway and others have made them the prototype of tragedy. But, since Mr. Cornford postulates practically the same source for both tragedy and comedy (compare pages 68, 190, 195, 246, etc.), the disagreement is only apparent. If the premises be granted, the original identity of tragedy and comedy logically follows. So irrational a result ought to open our eyes to the fact that arguments drawn from sympathetic magic cannot be unreservedly traced to their utmost implications. The ancient equation $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\iota\alpha = \tau\rho\upsilon\gamma\omega\delta\iota\alpha$ was due to a false etymology, and its modern analogue is equally impossible. The present-day carnivals are too full of later accretions to be safely employed as evidence for the sixth century B. C. and earlier; against the possibility of tragedy springing from them still stronger objections lie (see *Classical Philology* 8. 282 ff.). Furthermore, the contention (246) that tragedy and satyric drama divided between them the ritual outlines which comedy preserved in their entirety must give us pause. What has become of the "choral agon" (the *parabasis*) in the division? And what convincing traces of a "sacred marriage" do Euripides's *Cyclops* and Sophocles's *Ichneutae* afford? I have too great respect for Mr. Cornford's ingenuity to assert that none can be found, but at least they are not at once discernible to the anthropologically unsophisticated.

Pages 67 f. Mr. Cornford accepts Farnell's derivation of tragedy from the worship of Dionysus of the Black Goatskin and from the duel between Xanthus and Melanthus. Compare my criticism of this theory in *Classical Philology* 8. 270.

Page 89. "The legends ultimately based on this ritual, the stories of Pelops, Pelias, Aeson, and the rest, have come down to us in forms which date from a time when their original meaning had been forgotten". I suppose this holds true also of the myths of Oedipus, Perseus and Andromeda, Heracles and Hesione, and Pentheus, which are the outgrowth of the same fertility ritual (58 and 66). Now, so far as fifth century dramatists treated these themes, they helped to fix the forms in which these stories "have come down to us". Consequently, according to Mr. Cornford's own admission, the "original meaning" of these had already been lost sight of at that period. Similarly,

Mr. Cornford says that tragedy borrowed from heroic legends such stories as illustrate the fundamental conception of the old ritual plot, which explains Aristotle's statement "that 'Tragedies are restricted to a small number of (heroic) families . . . in which such horrors have occurred', *but he could not know the reason*" (p. 211 and n.). The words which I have italicized in these two quotations are a necessary concession; but, as has already been pointed out in the second paragraph of this review, they relinquish the only consideration that could make Mr. Cornford's argument plausible. If so much can not be postulated for any part of his argument, that part is seriously impaired. It is partly because this *can* be postulated for the physical violence and obscenity of Old Comedy that I am willing to accept Mr. Cornford's reasoning at that point. Now, if Aristotle knew nothing of the ritual plot, neither did fourth century playwrights; and we have just seen that fifth century tragedians were equally ignorant. It follows that, if Aeschylus and Euripides when dramatizing the Pentheus myth, for example, were no more conscious of dependence upon a ritual plot than was Marlowe in writing Doctor Faustus, the influence of primitive ritual upon mature tragedy must have been nonexistent or negligible. Then the question takes another form—did the tragic poets *unconsciously* follow a fixed series of incidents? When this notion leads Mr. Cornford to allege that the agon between Admetus and Pheres in Euripides's *Alcestis* is "barely intelligible except in the light of the old ritual conflict of the Young King claiming to supersede the outworn Old King" (p. 78), I for one am not impressed.

In comedy he fares no better: compare the suggestion that in Aristophanes's *Frogs* Euripides's complaint at being 'left for dead' in the underworld "gains point if we suppose a reminiscence that such had originally been the Antagonist's fate" (82). Mr. Cornford is constantly insisting that the strength of his arguments rests in its cumulative effect. But when this arises from such details as these, one's faith grows less rather than greater. Upon comedy, however, our author evidently believes the fixed plot of primitive ritual to have exercised a conscious influence. Such an unchanging plot would naturally result in a set of stock characters. Therefore, the heroes of comedy—"especially certain very important ones, who bear historical names—are made to wear one or another of a definite set of stock masks. They are, to the almost complete sacrifice of realistic portraiture, conformed to the traditional traits of these masks" (154). Lamachus and Aeschylus (!) are adaptations of the Miles Gloriosus, Socrates and Euripides of the Learned Doctor, Agoracritus of the Cook, Cleon of the Parasite, etc. All this implies conscious adaptation on the part of the comic poet and perfect understanding by the public of what he was doing. Now is it conceivable that Cleon would have been so stung by Aristophanes's attacks and

that Socrates in the *Apology* could have attributed to the Clouds so much of the feeling against him, if every one had known that Aristophanes, like another Procrustes, was merely forcing his contemporaries to lie in the places of conventionalized, stock characters? The exigencies of this argument compel Mr. Cornford to maintain (168) that of all the historical characters in comedy "the only one represented by anything like a recognizable portrait is Cleon" (!). Of course, he has to grant that "it is just in this case that Aristophanes explicitly says that the mask worn by the actor was not a portrait of the demagogue's real features". He tries to break the force of so damning a statement by alleging that "the excuse that no costumer could be found who was willing to make anything so terrific as a portrait-mask of Cleon, is a joke and not to be taken literally". But "so terrific" here is due to a misinterpretation of Aristophanes, for *ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους* refers to fear of Cleon's vengeance. With this correction the "joke" disappears, and the whole argument collapses.

Pages 100-102. Mr. Cornford considers the scattering of sweetmeats to the spectators in Old Comedy to be a survival of the communal meal. I venture to believe that I gave a simpler explanation, and all that is required, at Iowa City last spring; compare *The Classical Journal* 10.212 f.

Page 217. *Ἀτάκτως* in Tzetzes does not, I believe, mean "without orderly arrangement", but "in an undifferentiated crowd". In note 1 more of Tzetzes's text ought to be quoted.

Despite my inability to accept the major part of Mr. Cornford's theories, including his two main theses that Attic comedy was entirely indigenous and that Old Comedy closely followed the outlines of a ritual plot, I concede that he has written a valuable and stimulating work, one that will repay careful study and will add permanently to its author's reputation. It abounds in shrewd deductions and subtle observations. I regret that the length to which this review has already attained will prevent my citing any of these. The style and presentation are so attractive as scarcely to permit one to lay the volume down before the last page is reached.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

ROY C. FLICKINGER.

Livy. Books I, XXI, and XXII. Edited with brief Introduction and Commentary and Numerous Illustrations by Emory B. Lease. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company (1914). Pp. xl + 352.

This new edition of Professor Lease's Livy is well described in the Preface as a revised edition, for much of the material of the first edition (1905) has been recast, later returns have changed some of the statistical totals, while in other cases there are distinctly honorable omissions. The editor's justification of a new edition lies in numerous requests to him "to meet the needs of the less advanced student". The broader features of the first edition are retained, with altered proportions. Instead of the 72 pages of Introduction, 38 now suffice, and they appear in greatly improved form. In

the subject-matter retained, some statements have been altered, and even some additions made. The wholly improbable surmise "that Livy intended to extend his history to 150 books and to close with the death of Augustus" is unfortunately repeated (xi). Eight books would seem too scant to cover, with all the fullness of contemporary history, the events from 9 B. C. to 14 A. D., and the plan could not have been intelligently made until the aged Livy was sure he would outlive the aged Augustus. The text of the two editions is identical, except that now and then an obviously necessary, or desirable, change was mechanically possible (for example, p. 4, l. 34, *factam* for *factum*; in I. 1503, *cum* is adopted, <*ut*> deleted). A slightly changed list of Selections is offered, presumably that those who desire may take what they need from the fountain without risking the river's fullness. The Commentary is reduced from 237 to 173 pages; yet a number of excellent additions receive space, such as Canon Roberts's translation of Livy's Praefatio, summaries of Books II-XX and XXIII-XXX, interesting notes on The Later History of Hannibal and The Later History of Carthage, and a scant page of Loci Memoriales. One is a little startled in the summary of the second decade to find that certain portions "are devoted" to certain topics, certain wars "are described", and that Book XX "closes with", etc. Perhaps the less advanced student will remember the facts from the Introduction, and perceive that here the editor possesses a vivid style rather than some of the lost books, but I doubt it.

The changes in the Commentary are after all the most significant thing. Here for the purpose in view Professor Lease has made excellent changes. Many errors of reference have been eliminated, cross-references have been reduced, and the bibliography brought thoroughly up to date. As the editor himself might put it, the new edition has in up-to-date professional literature 12 new references for Book I, 8 for XXI, and 5 for XXII. Sixteen new folklore references on Book I are added, 7 being from Frazer's Golden Bough; one new historical footnote is given for XXI, and three new folklore references are found on XXII. Eight new references to standard English literature are found, but I frankly do not understand the purpose of referring to Emerson on I. 600. Emerson has no discussion of metempsychosis and the reference, an allusion to an allusion, does not point a moral though it may adorn the note.

Professor Lease's industry in the field of statistical syntax is well known at home, and has had recognition abroad by Schmalz and other discriminating scholars. He himself has defended the statistical features of his first edition (The Classical Journal 1. 197). Perhaps it was too much to expect that the "less advanced student" should be supposed by the editor to have little interest, real or possible, in such matters. If the purpose of a freshman in reading Livy were the same as that of a specialist, only commendation should be offered. It is true that some of the freshmen may become intelligent specialists, but often characteristics and tendencies would suffice without details. To illustrate, one might say that now and then there is a monotony of phrase in Professor Lease's English, without citing (Catullus) "Rome's great lyric poet" . . . (Vergil) "Rome's great epic poet" (page ix); (Quintilian) "Rome's great rhetorician" (xiv, n.3; xvi, §9); (Regulus, one of) "Rome's great heroes" (243); (Paulus, one of) "Rome's great men" (XXII. 1631, n.); (Carthage) "Rome's great rival" (348), or without reckoning the total

and recording that the locution seems first to occur, in the editor at least, in his study of "Prudentius, Rome's great Christian poet". Such statements or statistics would be gratuitous. Just so a freshman is not likely to profit much by learning that *adorati*, "used of the worship of the gods, is found first in poetry in Laevius (flor. 100 B. C.) and in Vergil, first in prose in Livy" (XXI. 464, n.). Why rescue insignificant Laevius? Besides, Laevius used not *adorati* but *adorans* (or was it after all, as Baehrens suggested, *adornans*?), and the student must still await information as to who first used the passive. The "less advanced student" will often wonder if his needs have been constantly in mind. Certainly the point of view shifts. At one time the notes explain in lowest terms who "Dionysius Hal." was (xv, n. 4, though this is not the first reference to Dionysius); at another time, the difference between *rēgi* and *rēgi* is asked for (on I. 157, where *rēgi* could not be translated); presently *exquilinus* and *inquilinus* are cited in explanation of *Esquilias* (I. 1586); and again we have Nepotian (XXI. 1931), Zonaras (XXII. 1480), Claudian (XXII. 2119), Laevius (XXI. 464) and C. I. L. (XXII. 896, 1095). Nothing is gained for a freshman by explaining that Gronovius and Madvig are respectively responsible for the conjectured *e* (XXI. 1694), and *a* (XXII. 1178). But, by any standard, there is occasional unevenness. If at I. 78 Mr. Ashby's special article on Monte Cavo is to be cited, one might reasonably expect a reference to Miss Taylor's monograph on Ostia at I. 1234. Its historical introduction especially would be in point. And, since reference is made to the Chinese Hou Chi (page 188, n. 1), the Indian Gunādhya (235, n. 1), and Sampson's foxes (XXII. 586), why forget Lot's wife on *respicere vetitus* (XXI. 649), not to mention Orpheus? Professor Lease does not often err in the matter of omissions, but at I. 1199 an explanation of the legal fiction involved in throwing a spear into a plot of ground near Rome should have been given; and better notes on *venando* (I. 129), *equites legendo* (XXI. 1626), and *ab tergo* (XXII. 1005) have evidently been repressed.

In the by no means easy matter of using clear, concise and pithy English there is a distinct improvement. But occasional lapses have been noted: "When everybody has been whipped" (I. 640); "Mommens sides with Livy" (XXI. 1919); "Each . . . was ready to surrender their . . . guest" (347); "There later stood the temple of Veiovis, and today the Piazza del Campidoglio" (I. 268; a parallel would be at I. 195, "The Romans celebrated April 21st as the 'birthday' of Rome", if one added 'and to-day'); "Hannibal: the greatest general ever lived", parallel with the "second Punic War: the greatest ever fought" (page 350, n. 1); the translation "roll yourself down" for *deolvere* (I. 1687); and brevity at least is not a consideration in the review question, "When did Scipio, the victor at Zama, first step upon the stage of the world's history?" (351).

Misprints, comparatively speaking, have disappeared. But in many cases the notes, while ostensibly on lines, are really on sections and all references to books other than those annotated are necessarily in 'Old Style', so that, with this confusion, I doubt any real gain in emulating Gruter's fame.

The typography of the book is vastly improved, and many new illustrations add their share of interest.

On the whole, in spite of certain defects, Professor Lease has undoubtedly produced a significant edition of Livy, one that is both intelligently conceived and diligently worked out. In point of real contribution its high merits cannot for a moment be questioned.

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O. F. LONG.

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